

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00129 281440Z

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 28, 1976

(SALT TWO-993)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF APRIL 28, 1976.

QUOTE

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

APRIL 28, 1976

MR. MINISTER,

I

TODAY I WILL COMMENT ON YOUR STATEMENT OF APRIL 22
AND WILL CONTINUE THE DISCUSSION OF THE ICBM LAUNCHER DEFINITION
TO BE CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE II. THE US DELEGATION,
AFTER GIVING CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO PREVIOUS STATEMENTS
OF THE SIDES ON THIS SUBJECT, BELIEVES THAT A MUTUALLY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00129 281440Z

ACCEPTABLE FORMULATION REFLECTING THE APPROACHES OF BOTH

DELEGATIONS CAN BE DEVELOPED.

II

IN ITS STATEMENT OF APRIL 22 THE SOVIET DELEGATION SAID THAT THE SIDES ARE CLOSE TOGETHER ON THE QUESTION OF WORKING OUT A DEFINITION FOR ICBM LAUNCHERS, AND THAT THE SIDES, RELYING ON DATA OBTAINED BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, ALREADY HAVE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHICH MISSILE LAUNCHERS ARE ICBM LAUNCHERS. THE US AGREES THAT NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS WOULD BE USED TO DETERMINE WHICH LAUNCHERS ARE ICBM LAUNCHERS. IN THIS CONNECTION THE US WOULD CONSIDER AS ICBM LAUNCHERS ALL LAUNCHERS OF A TYPE ONE OF WHICH HAD CONTAINED OR LAUNCHED AN ICBM. THE SOVIET APPROACH IS THAT ICBM LAUNCHERS ARE LAUNCHERS SPECIALLY DEVELOPED, AND CONSEQUENTLY TESTED, AND DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS. THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS ALSO SAID THAT THERE COULD BE NO ICBM LAUNCHERS WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN SPECIALLY DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS.

IN ORDER TO PROCEED WITH THE RESOLUTION OF THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE US DELEGATION FULLY TO UNDERSTAND THE SOVIET PROPOSAL. IN THIS REGARD, WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR THE WORD "SPECIALLY" IN THE SOVIET FORMULATION. IN OUR VIEW, THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DEVICE TO SERVE A SPECIFIC PURPOSE, SUCH AS LAUNCHING ICBMS, MUST ALWAYS BE A DELIBERATE, PURPOSEFUL ACT. THUS, NO QUALIFYING EXPRESSION IS NEEDED. WITH RESPECT TO THE PHRASE "DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED", THE SOVIET FORMULATION RAISES A QUESTION ABOUT THE APPLICATION OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE VI, IN WHICH THE SIDES HAVE AGREED, THAT ARMS WHICH ARE:

(A) OPERATIONAL
(B) IN THE FINAL STAGE OF CONSTRUCTION;
(C) IN RESERVE, STORAGE OR MOTHBALLED;
(D) UNDERGOING OVERHAUL, REPAIR, CONVERSION OR MODERNIZATION
SHALL BE CONSIDERED SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT. DOES THE SOVIET DELAGATION IN USING THE WORD "DEPLOYED" MEAN TO INCLUDE ICBM LAUNCHERS IN ALL THE STATUSES LISTED IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE VI? ALSO, DOES THE WORD "DEPLOYED" APPLY TO TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS? WE BELIEVE THAT ICBM TEST AND TRAINING LAUNCHERS SHOULD BE INCLUDED WITHIN THE SCOPE OF THE DEFINITION SINCE THEY ARE SUBJECT TO CERTAIN LIMITATIONS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00129 281440Z

OF THE AGREEMENT. MR. MINISTER, I BELIEVE THAT A FULL UNDERSTANDING ON THESE QUESTIONS WOULD BE HELPFUL IN FORMULATING A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREED STATEMENT FOR USE IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEFINITION OF AN ICBM LAUNCHER.

III

TURNING NOW TO THE RELATED MATTER OF A PROHIBITION AGAINST GIVING LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE NOT ICBM LAUNCHERS THE CAPABILITY

TO LAUNCH ICBMS, IT APPEARS THAT THE SIDES AGREE THAT CONVERSION OF EXISTING LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE NOT ICBM LAUNCHERS INTO LAUNCHERS FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS SHOULD BE PROHIBITED. IN ADDITION, THE US SIDE HAS RAISED THE QUESTION AS TO THE STATUS OF A LAUNCHER WHICH BY ITS DESIGN IS CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING BOTH ICBMS AND MISSILES OF LESS THAN ICBM RANGE. IN THIS REGARD THE SOVIET STATEMENTS OF APRIL 7 AND 22 NOTED THAT UNDER THE SOVIET APPROACH THERE COULD BE NO ICBM LAUNCHERS WHICH WERE NOT SPECIALLY DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS. WE TAKE THIS TO MEAN THAT IF A LAUNCHER HAS CONTAINED OR LAUNCHED AN ICBM, THAT LAUNCHER IS AN ICBM LAUNCHER REGARDLESS OF ANY OTHER CAPABILITIES THAT LAUNCHER MAY HAVE. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A CLAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOVIET FORMULATION WE NEED TO KNOW IF THIS INTERPRETATION IS CORRECT.

MR. MINISTER, I LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR COMMENTS ON THE QUESTIONS I HAVE RAISED TODAY.

UNQUOTEJOHNSON

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